

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1876.

The Week.

MESSRS. Stanley Matthews, J. A. Garfield, J. A. Logan, W. D. Kelley, J. A. Kasson, Evarts, Stoughton, and others, were invited by the President to go down to New Orleans on the Republican side, and see fair play at the counting of the votes by the Returning Board. Some of them went, and were met on their arrival, on the 14th inst., by a letter from a number of more or less prominent Democrats who had gone down on the same errand. The letter assumed that the persons to whom it was addressed had come down, at the request of President Grant, to "see a fair count of the votes actually cast"; that they and "all good citizens considered an honest count and true return of the votes actually cast as of greater moment than the success of any candidate for office"; that they looked on the making of such a return in Louisiana as "a matter of national importance, on which at this crisis the very existence of constitutional government might depend." They (the Democrats), therefore, in view of its importance and of the controversies which had before arisen on the action of the Returning Board in that State, on an occasion when its action could not change the result of a Presidential election, and in view of the desire of all good men for fair play, invited the Republicans to a conference, "in order that such influence as they possessed might be exerted in behalf of such a canvass of the votes as by its fairness and impartiality should command the respect and acquiescence of the American people."

This seemed on its surface a reasonable and attractive proposition, but the Republicans were too wary and too good lawyers to be caught in this way, so they replied that they too desired "an honest and just declaration of the results of the recent election by the lawfully constituted authorities," but added "that they knew of no reason to doubt that such declaration would be made"—not having heard, apparently, of the frauds of 1874 by those same "constituted authorities"; but they declined the proposed conference on the ground that they had no duty in the premises; that at best they could only be witnesses "without power or legal influence," and had no right "to control or influence any of the State officers as to the manner in which they should perform ministerial or judicial duties," and declared, with apparent solemnity, that if they, "strangers and without official functions," were to attempt such a thing they would be condemned by the people "for an improper interference with local administration." They then made a long citation from the State laws, showing the ignorant Democrats that the Board had complete judicial as well as ministerial authority, and had, therefore, a right to pass on all charges of fraud or intimidation; made a cutting reference to what the Democrats would have said if similar interference had been attempted by the citizens of other States with the Canvassing Board in New York after the frauds of 1868, but made no mention of what any one would have said if the New York Legislature had been twice organized in that year by a United States military force, once under an order issued at midnight by Judge Barnard, and once under a simple request addressed by Governor William M. Tweed to the commanding officer. They closed with a protest against the assumed design of the Democrats to confound "votes actually cast" with votes legally cast, and altogether comported themselves as a band of very smart, shrewd attorneys arranging a compromise in a criminal court in a whiskey case.

The Democrats, on the 17th, returned to the charge, and, in opening, expressed some natural curiosity as to what brought the Republicans there, so far from home and from their lawful affairs,

to become simple "strangers, without legal functions," in a large and wicked city, and showed that they (the Democrats) followed, in their invitation, the language of President Grant in asking these simple-minded men to go down there, and that if the term "votes actually cast" might be made to cover votes illegally cast, it was he who was responsible for it, for it was he who used it. They disclaimed, for their own part, any such use of the phrase, and declared that by votes actually cast they meant "votes legally cast"; acknowledged the correctness of the Republican view of the legal powers of the Board (this being really the source of all the trouble), but assumed that though there was influence which strangers could not properly exert on the Board, there was also influence they might exert; that by their mere presence they might support such fundamental rules as these: Nobody should be judge in his own case; both sides ought to be fully heard; questions of law ought to be decided on established principles, questions of fact by the ordinary rules of evidence; the trial of disputed questions should be public; the impartiality of the judges should not only exist, but be *manifest*. They then called attention to the fact that widespread distrust of the Returning Board *did* prevail, and brought to the knowledge of their correspondents the painful truth that the reason of this distrust was that this same Board—and not a Board in Guatemala or Costa Rica, as some of the Republicans may have supposed—was the one found guilty of fraud by a Congressional committee in the year 1875. They closed with the hope that, conference or no conference, the Board would act fairly. The subscribing Democrats are, among others, Messrs. Palmer, Lyman Trumbull, Morrison, Randall, Curtin, Bigler, and Oswald Ottendorfer. The correspondence leaves a very unpleasant impression as to the spirit which the Republicans are carrying into the controversy, which is strongly Butlerite. In fact, their letter was just such as one might have expected Butler to dictate.

The Innocent Strangers subsequently wrote another letter to the Democrats, expressing their gratification at learning that a request to confer, "in order that such influence as they possessed might be exerted in behalf of such canvass of the votes actually cast as by its fairness and impartiality should command the respect and acquiescence of the American people," did not mean "a purpose to interfere with the legally constituted authorities of the State in the discharge of their duties." They (the Strangers) were, they said, requested by the President "to attend there to witness, not to influence, such canvass" (perish the thought!), and "they knew that such request was not intended by him to limit them to witness the count of votes actually cast, but the entire proceedings of the Board in reaching a result as to the votes legally cast to be counted." But why did the President request the Strangers to do anything of the kind? Did they not show in their first sweet pretty letter that they had absolutely no authority whatever in the matter; that it would be a gross impertinence for them to exercise or seek to exercise any influence on the Board; and, lastly, that there was no reason for suspecting the Board of a desire to do wrong? We must, therefore, conclude that in asking them to leave their homes and make a long journey to witness the vote, the President wantonly disturbed the repose of a simple-minded, shy body of men who have never heard of an election fraud. Just before sending this last letter an invitation came from the Returning Board asking each committee to send a deputation of five to witness the count, which was accepted, and the Board is now counting in the presence of these ten delegates. But no one must imagine that the Republican Strangers are there to influence the Board in any way. They are there simply to keep the Board company and let the President know, as an act of courtesy, that they have seen it exercising judicial functions in the presence of certain Democrats. We hope he will see them safely to their homes, and

that General Sheridan will detail as many "troops" as may be necessary for the purpose.

The election returns in South Carolina have been taken in hand by the Supreme Court, which directed the Canvassing Board merely to "aggregate the statements furnished to them by the boards of county canvassers" and certify the result to the court. This order did not apply to the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the votes for which are to be counted by the Legislature. The result was, however, to show that Hayes had secured the electoral vote of the State, and Hampton been elected Governor, by slight majorities. Most of the candidates on the Republican State ticket, except Chamberlain, appear also to have been elected, and the Legislature to be Democratic, on joint ballot, by a small majority. The Democrats, however, protested against the certificate of the count made by the State Board, on the ground that material errors and omissions exist in the county returns, which can only be corrected by a comparison of them with the original returns of the "managers" at the election precincts. Such a comparison, fairly made, would, they say, show that Tilden had carried the State, and make other important changes. The Court has, however, issued a peremptory mandamus, directing the State Board to issue certificates to the Senators and Representatives appearing to be elected. The election of Hampton, even if Hayes got the electoral vote, would, of course, be the last of the Republican régime in the State, and South Carolina would have to be added to the long list of States in which the reconstruction process has ended by turning the government over to the whites; and on this account the party in power will make a desperate struggle for existence. But if Hampton gets his certificate of election, nothing can prevent his being inaugurated except troops, and we doubt whether Kellogg's Louisiana *coup d'état* can be done over again in another State.

In Florida, the Democrats want to have the State Board of Canvassers canvass the returns as they come in, while the Republicans say they need not do this, taking the legal ground that they have the whole of the five weeks allowed by the local law to begin operations. The Board has only one Democrat on it—the Attorney-General—and is certainly not in haste to begin work. Governor Sterns also declares that there is a grave legal question about the canvassing still undecided, and that is whether the Canvassing Board has any jurisdiction as to returns for Presidential electors. The latest law on the subject directs the Board to canvass the returns for "State officers," but whether this term covers electors, or whether another older law is in force, are questions still *in gremio*, and, in the present condition of parties, they could not be in a safer place. The Democrats have published very full returns, showing that the State has gone Democratic, but the Republicans say that they dare not publish the figures on their side, as, if they did, the Democrats would at once proceed to alter the returns from the distant counties not yet heard from officially, and so deprive them of their lawful majority. We regret very much to repeat it, but they say this has been done before in similar cases. The last move in the game in Florida is the service of an injunction on the Governor, at the instance of the Democrats, to prevent his canvassing the votes.

There appears to be no doubt that troops are being concentrated at Washington, and that General Grant has begun the preparation of his annual message. There is no connection between these two facts, but they have caused a good deal of consternation, and not unnaturally. There is no constitutional provision against either, but it has been one of the most generally admitted virtues of General Grant's somewhat unpopular administration that while he has never hesitated to perform what he believed to be his duties under the Constitution, he has never tried, as in this case, to do them all at once, and what the consequences may be no man can tell. Fortunately, however, the forces now concentrating at the Capital are few in numbers, and constitute what the *World* would call "troops for one."

The announcement that the person fixed upon as the successor of Mr. Green in the Comptrollership is Mr. John Kelly, our late Boss, seems to have a curious effect on our Reform contemporaries. They have, as we know, hitherto taken a dark view of Mr. Kelly. According to their accounts his record was as follows: As Sheriff he committed extensive frauds, and thus laid the foundation of an ill-gotten fortune; determined to corrupt the virtue and thus undermine the liberties of his fellow-citizens, he has since been using his money and the low influence that money brings to surround himself with a band of desperate and determined men, who have made him Boss. As Boss he has engaged in a career of tyranny and crime; he has "fixed" primaries; he has interfered with the course of justice by helping his friends in difficulties through the courts; he has, instead of "letting the people rule," ruled the people by having printed large numbers of tickets containing the names of candidates for office, and, by representing them to be, and persuading the public to believe that they were, the "regular" or "straight" tickets (or, in other words, tickets of a kind for which much public affection is always manifested), has induced the public to vote them in such great quantities as to elect to office all the candidates whose names were printed upon them, thus (as the *Evening Post* would say) hiding a Catilinian ambition under a decorous pretence of respect for the forms of law. Being familiar with this damning history, and having been called upon at least once a year for some years to "rise" against Mr. Kelly as a public enemy and "trample out the one-man power," we cannot conceal our astonishment at the mild way the story of his intended appointment as Comptroller has been received by the Reform press. They either say nothing about it at all, or else they refer to Mr. Kelly as a well-known New Yorker who has many qualifications for the post, among which sterling integrity is the most prominent. We confess that this strikes us as the most alarming instance of the apathy produced by tyranny, when endured too long, even in a free community, that we have ever noticed. But we do not propose to sit quiet under this last outrage. Will no one help us to expose it? We call upon the *Evening Mail* to explain its position on this question.

The *Franklin*, it seems, was driven out to sea by the recent storm, and, as we go to press, has not yet come in. Tweed, however, has been heard from through a *Tribune* correspondent, who sends from St. Thomas a report of his life and conversation on shipboard. According to his own account, he has been deceived and abused ever since he left home. His "most trusted adviser" had told him to go to Spain, because there was no extradition treaty, and he learned that, besides this negative advantage, there was "good old sherry," "very cheap," in abundance. He had got no farther than Havana, however, when Jovellar got wind of his arrival, and intimated to the Boss that it was customary in Cuba, as in New York, for persons of wealth to "see" somebody. This the "Old Man" did not mind much. He says that he did not begrudge the money to Jovellar, whom he affectionately calls "Old Jovellar"; but what he does think is an outrage is being made a prisoner by Mr. Fish and the King of Spain, and placed in confinement on board an American man-of-war. This, he says, is a "violation of every principle of international law." He threatens astounding revelations about Tilden, and says he wonders whether the wretch remembers "the proposition he made to me to bring testimony to support and establish any statements I might choose to make if I would only 'peach' on Sweeny and Hall." This adds subornation of perjury to the long list of Tilden's crimes. By the way, as a whole, is it not black enough already to justify his being "counted out," without regard to the returns? Can a man as bad as Tilden be considered eligible to the Presidency under any constitution?

The unsettled condition of political affairs continues to have an injurious effect on domestic trade, and the last has been one of the dullest weeks of the year. In the foreign trade the exports have

again been stimulated by European complications. The imports during October, according to the official figures, show a decided increase over the corresponding month last year, and reflect the more confident feeling as to the future which prevailed among merchants before the Presidential election. At the Stock Exchange there has been an advance in the prices of the speculative stocks of the trunk-line railroads, as negotiations for an advance in rates have been reopened. The shares of the coal companies have been pressed for sale, the price of coal having again fallen so as to preclude the possibility of dividends out of earnings by even the best of the coal companies. The gold market was steady through the week; commercial considerations favored a decline in the premium, but they were neutralized, chiefly by the uneasiness respecting home political affairs. With no political trouble here the gold premium might at first advance on the outbreak of war in Europe, but the ultimate effect would be to reduce it. The gold value of the legal-tender note of the United States has ranged during the week between \$0.9132 and \$0.9101.

The news from the East since the armistice has not varied very much in character. The Russian mobilization of the army continues, but it is not believed that the force mobilized will exceed 250,000 men. The other preparations, such as the accumulation of stores and organization of transportation, are of the most extensive character. Nevertheless, preparations for the meeting of the Conference at Constantinople at the end of this month apparently still continue. There is little light as yet as to the nature of the demands which Russia is going to make, but report from St. Petersburg speaks of the disarmament of the population of all creeds in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, the disuse of irregular troops, and the transfer of the Circassian colonists to Asia; the use of the local language in the courts and public offices, and the appointment of a native Christian as governor in each province, aided by a Supervisory Council composed of the foreign consuls. It cannot be said that there is anything unreasonable in all this. What England is going to do it is difficult to make out, as the public and press are divided upon the policy to be pursued. The drift, as well as we can make out, is towards co-operation with Russia and acquiescence in her plans, as long as they do not involve the acquisition of Constantinople, and towards forcible resistance to this or anything like it. The *Times* cites the French occupation of Syria, in 1860, with the consent of the other Powers, as an example of armed intervention on behalf of the Turkish Christians by one European Government, which it may be wise now to allow Russia to follow, under proper guarantees that she will withdraw when the end is accomplished. The probabilities seem to point to an occupation of Bulgaria until the desired changes in the internal economy of the Turkish Empire have been effected; and the Czar is sufficiently anxious for peace to try to make the step palatable to the other European Powers. Whether anything can make it palatable to Turkey remains to be seen. Austria will probably prepare a corps of observation, and Rumania, which has had some fears of being used as a battle-field, still calls lustily for neutrality. There are rumors of another rising in Poland, and the conscription is being enforced there mercilessly.

The Servians have been completely beaten. The storming of the heights of Djunis seems to have made an end of their army, which now no longer exists. It is completely dissolved in the retreat, and the inflow of Russian volunteers has ceased, and those who have participated in the late conflicts are either going home or have gone home, in disgust. The Russian battalions, indeed, seem to have borne the brunt of the recent encounters, and to have shown the stubbornness and tenacity in defence for which they have always been distinguished. The Turks find, therefore, the more complete their success has been the worse they are off, and are now, when they have completely

destroyed their enemy, waiting to have terms imposed on them as if they were themselves the vanquished. The case on the surface seems a hard one, but in reality Russia is acting as their best friend in bringing home to them, in this direct and palpable way, that no excellence in fighting which they can ever display can enable such a power to exist and be independent any longer in Europe.

One of the collateral results of the excitement in England over the Bulgarian "atrocities" has been a controversy of extraordinary acrimony over the comparative barbarity, as conquerors, of the Turks and Russians. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which represents the conservative, if not pro-Turkish, view of the relations of England to the Turkish Empire, and has done its best to belittle the atrocities, has fished out from Mr. Schuyler's book on Turkistan a story of the Russians having imposed on a Turkoman tribe a fine of such enormous amount that they could not pay it, and then massacred them wholesale, by formal and deliberate order, as a penalty, showing that the rulers whom the Sentimentalists were willing to substitute for the Turks in European Turkey were not a whit more humane. To this Mr. Gladstone replied, with great severity, in the *Contemporary Review*, accusing the *Pall Mall* of garbling the authority. The *Pall Mall* rejoins, in an article which recalls some of the famous fights of our contemporaries in this city, and really seems to get the better of the ex-Premier, who, if he means to continue the conflict with effect, must transfer his flag to one of the daily papers. But it must be confessed that Mr. Gladstone is losing prestige and dignity in these conflicts.

Perhaps the singular thing in this crisis is the complete absence of France from any share in it, but that she is to stand apart was formally announced by the Duc Decazes in his recent statement to the Assembly. No such phenomenon has been witnessed since the "Eastern Question" became one of the problems of European politics. When England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia signed the convention in July, 1840, leaving France "out in the cold," and compelling Mehemet Ali Pasha to surrender Syria and the Turkish fleet to the Porte, the rage of the French public was so great that Louis Philippe only avoided war at the cost of a serious weakening of his dynasty. Now there is universal acquiescence in the policy of peace and abstention. The Powers may settle the question as they please; France has other fish to fry. Almost as remarkable and significant as showing the change which has come over French politics is the speech made by M. Gambetta to his constituents, the voters of the Belleville district of Paris, which has come out by the last mail. He told them that they had had enough of violent language leading to violent deeds; that what he desired was to "separate sentiment, tumult in the streets, declamation, and disorder from politics." He then glorified compromise and the spirit of compromise; pointed out what the Republican cause had gained even since 1871 by peaceful agitation; and finally gave them the following programme, which may fairly be called wonderful, coming from the leader of the French Radical Democracy:

"Direct attention to solid and fundamental matters; lay the foundation of a democracy truly mistress of itself; put your hands to business; do not for one moment lose sight of the national education; take heed to the reconstitution of the military power of the country; sweep away the fetters which still weigh heavy on the liberty of thought and writing; struggle against the return of audacious clericalism; spare neither care, time, nor trouble to develop and regulate the rights of meeting and association, the most indispensable of all in a democracy, for those who labor ought themselves to elaborate and carry out the solution of economical and social questions one by one, with wisdom and fulness; while taking into account all the difficulties and the interests of all, make haste, above all, to bring about certain reforms. March straight to the enemy, and do not take the shadow for the substance."

THE CAMPAIGN.

WE write again in uncertainty as to the result of the election, but in the belief that no matter who is elected the sceptre has passed away from the Republican party, most likely forever. Whatever work there is left for the party to do can hardly be done by it as it now is. There will have to be much reorganizing and reorganizing before it can again leave its mark on national legislation. If Hayes has been elected, and proves the President he has promised to be, he will not be supported by the party as it stands to-day. If he proves the President that some fear he may be—that is, the minister of the Group who have managed General Grant's Administration—both he and the party will totally disappear from the political arena in 1880. We do not need again to go over all the agencies which, in our opinion, have brought the party to its present plight. Our readers are by this time sufficiently familiar with them. The seeds of the fatal disease were sown when "Tom" Murphy became Collector of the New York custom-house. The attempts since made at recovery have been like the runnings from clime to clime of a patient in an advanced stage of consumption. There have been weeks when things looked better, and weeks when they looked worse, but the progress from month to month has been steadily downward. We are not now, however, about to write an epitaph or engage in any process of analysis or interpretation. We wish, before the public mind is wholly turned toward the future, to say one word in reference to our own connection with the melancholy events of the last four months.

We believe the *Nation* is, though only in its twelfth year, in one sense the oldest Republican paper in the United States—that is to say it has advocated longer than any other the principles on which the party stood at the nomination of Mr. Hayes, as expressed in its platform at Cincinnati and in his letter. It advocated civil-service reform before any other paper in the country ever mentioned it, or mentioned it otherwise than jestingly as a Prussian whimsey. It advocated a prompt and steady return to specie payments before any of the party leaders were fully satisfied that it made any difference whatever when we returned to specie payments; and it was certainly one of the first to call attention to the ruin which the attempts to maintain a branch of the Republican party at the South by the aid of carpet-baggers was bringing on that unhappy region, and one of the most earnest in calling for a conciliatory and impartial policy towards it on the part of the Federal Government. In fact, when we read Mr. Hayes's letter and the Cincinnati platform, and recognized our old and well-worn doctrines in their new suit of party English, we experienced a feeling of "soundness on the main question" running through our political frame to which we had been long a stranger. We seemed to be once more in good and regular standing in the church. The members were all around us with a grave and reverent air, and though we perceived several suspicious characters among the assistant pastors and deacons, we thought we could well afford to keep silent about them, as they would be sure to withdraw when they saw that "reform within the party" had actually begun. Mr. Hayes, though by no means our favorite candidate, we accepted honestly and hopefully, and spoke of him in as strong terms of approbation as a somewhat limited knowledge of him would permit. In fact, in our good humor, we began to feel a little sorry for "the bad men," who now after so many years of office and management would have to pack up their tools and clothing and retire from active politics.

Now comes a part of the story which our pen almost refuses to write. This was the last we saw of Mr. Hayes, or the last we heard of the platform and the letter, from any authoritative source, until a few days before the election. The proceedings which took place in the church simply filled us with amazement. Little was said about reform by anybody, and the suspicious-looking deacons and assistant pastors, instead of withdrawing, got out packs of soiled cards and began playing "seven-up," and swearing lustily at the "ex-rebels," and offering to thrash anybody who interfered

with them. Perceiving Mr. "Zach" Chandler in the pulpit, "telling stories" and chewing tobacco, and exercising the functions of a chairman, we asked the bystanders whether they really meant to say that "Zach" was a reformer, and learned that he wasn't much of a reformer, but was a good fellow, had plenty of money, and knew how to "run the machine"; and then they laughed, and punched us in the ribs, as if we too must enjoy the joke. Turning to Mr. Wheeler, the nominee for the Vice-Presidency, we asked him when the exposition of Republican doctrine was to begin, and he said he would begin it now himself, and "Zach" thereupon rapped for silence; and we heard, to our amazement, that the campaign was not about civil-service reform, or currency, or pacification at all—that it was a continuation of the civil war, and that we had all to vote as if we were actually on the battle-field. Seeing Mr. Blaine, who appeared looking vigorous and active, we asked him what the campaign was about, and he said entirely about "outrages" on negroes, on which subject he had reams of evidence. Enquiring of Mr. Boutwell if this was true, he said very gloomily that it was not half true enough. Here the editor of the *New York Times* came up, and declared that the whole thing really turned on Tilden's income and the condition of the once smiling village of Brady's Bend, and became very violent and abusive. Mr. Blaine then added that, now that he thought of it, he must say the campaign was really about Southern claims for damages during the war, which he put down at \$2,000,000,000, and which we should have to pay at once if Tilden was elected. This delighted the whole company greatly, and they all shouted "Claims, claims!" at the top of their voices.

When silence was restored, Mr. Murat Halstead, whom we last saw at the Greeley Convention at Cincinnati trying to pacify the South, arose, drew a large manuscript from his pocket, and said he should be happy to read an essay on claims, showing that they were almost immeasurable in amount, and that no earthly power could prevent their being paid if Tilden was made President. During the reading, however, we were sorry to perceive much winking between Chandler and Blaine. At this point the editor of the *Evening Post* arose, and declared that the real reason for electing Hayes, after all, was that if we did not, the conversion of the six per cent. bonds in London would stop. This he knew was true, because somebody in Washington had read it in a letter from some one in London, and that he would advise an "uprising" of bankers and merchants. Mr. Chandler thereupon called upon the bankers and merchants to uprising about the public credit, and ask Mr. Evarts for a speech on it. This gentleman delivered a speech accordingly, but said nothing in it about the public credit, which made the company again laugh, and they said they supposed it was just as well, and that they would get the Secretary of the Treasury to say when and how the Republican party would resume specie payments. The Secretary appeared accordingly, and said that he could not say exactly when it would resume, but that it would probably be in the night; that they would wake up and find resumption going on; if they did not, they might rely on it they would never see him again. This caused great merriment, and it was generally agreed that nocturnal resumption was a capital idea and that Mr. Morrill was a great financier. Here Mr. Chandler and Mr. Jay Gould—whom we had observed sitting with him in the pulpit all along—both began to look pale and uncomfortable, and Mr. Chandler, in answer to enquiries as to what ailed him, said "good news was coming in from every quarter," that "the skies were brightening all around," and that he felt that some prompt measures must be taken to save the party. On the suggestion of the *Evening Post* and *Tribune*, it was resolved, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to publish Hayes's letter once more, and advocate his election on that, and this was done for about a week before the election.

As we came away sorrowful, we asked ourselves whether if in July last we had been invited to support Hayes on a platform composed exclusively of outrages, claims, Tilden's income-tax, Terre Haute and Brady's Bend frauds, danger to the public credit, and nocturnal resumption, with Chandler, Blaine, Morton, and "Bob" Inger-

soil as head preachers and managers, we would have consented, and we found we had no difficulty in saying decidedly, no. We should never have had any hesitation about it. As matters stood we did the best we could. We protested against the course things were taking; we reminded Mr. Hayes and his friends that this was a reform campaign, and that though he might doubtless mean well, and was not going to commit himself to the hands of bad men, he must not tax too severely the faith and patience of that really small body of independent voters to whom, if elected, he would owe his election. Dignity is a very desirable thing in a candidate, and etiquette has its uses, but there are occasions when dignity and etiquette have to be sacrificed for more important things, and it is in knowing when to sacrifice them that judgment is shown. To the question why did Mr. Hayes allow Chandler and Blaine the complete discretion they apparently enjoyed in carrying on the canvass, the answer usually made us has been that he had too much dignity to interfere, and that anyhow he could not at present afford to offend these men. The result, we think, shows that on this point he was mistaken. The thing he could not afford to do was to put his political fortunes into their hands. The lesson of the election is that the only way to convince the people that you are to be a reform President is to begin by showing yourself to be a reform candidate.

We do not *know* exactly what Mr. Hayes ought to have done, because we do not know what he did do. But we think that he might in some manner have saved reformers from the intolerable mortification of having either to pretend not to see Chandler at the head of the canvass, or to pretend that he was a proper person to be there. The eminent man himself, we believe, made a show of hesitating about holding both the Secretaryship of the Interior and the Chairmanship of the National Committee, and this hesitation gave Mr. Hayes an opportunity of putting in a word that might have decided him in the right way. The prominence assumed by Blaine added to the difficulty. In short, without going any further, reformers found themselves called upon, within a month of the opening of the canvass, to include in their support of the Republican candidates approbation of Chandler, Morton, Blaine, Cameron, and all the Group, and general forgetfulness of the past, and trust to Mr. Hayes's personal firmness, of which he refrained from making any exhibition, to protect them against the consequences of their folly or dishonesty. The only upright course seemed to us to be to continue, in season and out of season, to call attention to the real causes and real aims of the reform movement, and at the same time give Mr. Hayes as much support as it was possible to give a man whose political surroundings were in the main bad. If he is now elected, we shall be delighted to see him carry out the programme laid down in his letter, and in doing it he will have our hearty support. But with regard both to him and Mr. Tilden we shall wait for performance before beginning our praises.

THE WATCHERS IN LOUISIANA.

THE want of confidence felt in the decision of the Louisiana Returning Board caused a certain number of men more or less prominent in their respective parties to go down to New Orleans to "watch the count." Of the Republicans, we believe the greater number went at the invitation or suggestion of the President. The reasons why the Democrats and independent Republicans, at least, feel no confidence in the Returning Board are these: (1) that in 1875 a Congressional committee, containing such members as Messrs. Wheeler (the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency), Hoar (G. F.), and Frye, went down and enquired into the manner in which this Board had performed its duties in counting the vote of the election of 1874, and united in an emphatic condemnation of its proceedings as illegal; (2) that the composition of the Board remains now the same as it was then—that is, the men who compose it are a portion of the men who composed it in 1874, and now constitute the entire Board; (3) that all its members to-day belong to one of the two political parties now contending for the Presidency,

and one of them is, in addition to this, a custom-house officer, holding his place, under "the spoils system," at the pleasure of the head of the Republican party, while another was a candidate for office at the late election. These are facts which are, we believe, not disputed by any one.

Now, that they furnish just grounds, not only for distrusting the Board, but, if there existed any legal means of doing so, for turning it out of office, no honest and intelligent man can deny. There must not be any pretense that this is a party view of the case. It is the moral view—the only view a man can take who believes that civilized society must rest on justice and good faith. It is the view on which contracts are made, causes tried, character built up, and on which mutual confidence reposes in all orderly and progressive communities, and nobody, as he cares for his soul's health, ought to be frightened out of it by being told that it is "what the Democrats say," or that in expressing it you "throw your influence" against some good man or good cause. Your influence is always thrown for good causes and good men when you speak the truth and follow the right.

The distrust of the Returning Board is, therefore, well founded. But this is not all. It is most important that at this juncture this distrust should find expression. In 1874, when the Board committed its last fraud, the returns it manipulated were only those of the State of Louisiana; this year the returns on which it is to pass are those of the vote for the President of the United States, and not only this, but things are so situated that the Board may return the casting vote, or, in other words, may make the next President. Now, we are not sure that watching will produce much effect on its members. They belong to a class, mostly of recent growth, which is not much affected by public opinion, and is too characterless and positionless to be much damaged in any way by social reprobation. Moreover, they are clothed not simply with ministerial but judicial functions. They not only count the votes, but decide what votes are valid, and may throw out the vote of a whole parish in their discretion; and they fill their own vacancies. The temptation to do wrong presses on them with greater force at this juncture than ever before. The use of having them watched, therefore, by respectable men from both sides at the North is, in our eyes, not so much that they may be prevented from cheating as that the country may, if they do cheat, have satisfactory evidence of the fact.

We think people here at the North were glad, therefore, when the watchers from both sides went down, and were in hopes that they would act harmoniously. For let us assure the "workers" and "managers," great and small, that they make a great mistake if they suppose the honest and intelligent men of any party are going to be satisfied with any trick or sharp practice in this matter, or any device which simply stops short of open fraud. They want fairness, in the highest and best sense of the word—the fairness not of energetic politicians, but of the most honorable and upright ministers, lawyers, or business men; the fairness not of committee rooms, but of respectable homes. We must add, too, that the suspicion of unfairness will tell soonest against Mr. Hayes. The burden of proof lies on him. His own friends and supporters are going to sit in judgment on his case, and their finding, therefore, in order to be satisfactory, must not only be honest but above suspicion.

Under these circumstances we confess we were a good deal surprised to find that when the Democratic watchers in New Orleans the other day sent a respectful and in every way proper invitation to the Republicans to united action for the better satisfaction of the Northern public, which they both in a certain sense represented, they received a reply which it is difficult to avoid calling tricky and evasive. What other epithets, for instance, can we apply to the statement that they "knew of no reason to doubt" that the result of the election would be honestly declared, made with the history and composition of the Returning Board before their eyes? To what can we compare such talk except Judge Barnard's telling the lawyers in a partition suit, when he made Tweed receiver, that he did not know what they had against him? And what are we to say to the candor of men who make long citations of the Louisiana

law, giving the Board full powers, and then indulge in the following delectable cant?

"It is, in our judgment, vital to the preservation of constitutional liberty that the habit of obedience to the forms of law should be sedulously inculcated and cultivated, and that the resort to extra-constitutional modes of redress for even actual grievances should be avoided and condemned as revolutionary, disorganizing, and tending to disorder and anarchy."

This was in reply to the Democratic invitation to a conference, "in order that such influence as we possess may be exerted in behalf of such a canvass of the votes actually cast as by its fairness and impartiality shall command the respect and acquiescence of the American people of all parties," and it came from men who have nearly all, on grounds of necessity, supported the Administration in its irregular interference at the South. They sought to fortify it afterwards, Blaine fashion, by pretending to think that by "votes actually cast" the Democrats meant whether legally cast or not, but this construction the latter promptly disavowed.

This quibbling, evasive, and crooked tendency of Republican politics, which led to the piecemeal concoction of a fresh platform by the stump-speakers during the canvass, is the natural and almost inevitable result of the inability of the leaders to face the public on the new declaration of principles into which the party has recently been forced, and the insufficiency of mere dread of the Democrats to take the place of positive beliefs and promises. It furnishes, too, so striking an illustration of the obstacles to self-reform by a political party that we shall reserve it for future discussion, adding once more a warning which has in one shape or another been so often found in these columns during the last four or five years, viz.: that the stock phrases of the Republican orators—the abuse of the Democrats, and the prophecies as to what they will do, and the manufacture of fresh charges against them—are doubtless all that is necessary to hold the bulk of the Republican party. But the bulk of the Republican party cannot either keep or put it in power. Elections are decided by a few thousand sceptical and exacting persons, who cannot be beguiled by stump-speeches, who will not take a sentimental view of the party, any more than of a locomotive or stage-coach, and who see straight through all the rhetoric and sophistry and apology with which of late years it has been necessary to cover its weak points. These must be considered.

THE AWARDS AT THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION.

THE managers of our Exhibition discarded the system of awards hitherto prevailing, and substituted for the classified medals and prizes of their predecessors a method by which all meritorious exhibits should receive uniform bronze tokens, accompanied by certificates or diplomas setting forth the degree and character of the qualities for which the awards were given. If three sewing-machines were selected for commendation, the judges would not say that one was the best, another the second best, and the other the third best, but would give an award to one because of its adaptability to the whole range of domestic work, to another (of high cost) as working perfectly in cambie, cloth, or leather, and to the third because, although less effective than either of the others for their special purposes, it was sufficiently good for ordinary family use, and could be furnished at a price within the reach of very poor people. So, through the whole range of the Exhibition, and in every department, the good qualities of the selected exhibits were to be authoritatively described, and this was supposed to constitute a value, especially for advertising purposes, far beyond the mere statement that an exhibit had received the "first" prize—no reasons being stated.

At the meeting of the judges in May, when they received their instructions, the director-general made an address concerning the system from which the following is quoted:

"In place of the anonymous verdict of a jury, we have substituted the written opinion of a judge. On this basis awards will carry the weight and guarantees due to individual personal character, ability, and attainments, and to this extent their reliability and value will be increased."

Two hundred and fifty judges were selected, one-half of them foreigners, receiving a compensation of \$1,000 each, the others Americans, receiving

\$600 each. Including the office expenses of the Bureau, the judging cost the Commission about \$300,000. The system itself, and the work done under it, promised, up to the time of the separating of the groups, a very satisfactory result. As a rule, the judges were experts selected only for their capacity, and their work was faithfully done. The instructions permitted each Group to place its standard of merit as high as it pleased, but required that everything which should come within this standard should receive an award. So far as we know, they were complied with in every case except that of the Group on the Fine Arts. This Group took it upon itself to begin its work by deciding to award a certain number of medals—to be divided, so many among oil paintings, so many among water-colors, so many among sculptures, etc. One of the absurdities of its method was shown by the early developed fact that there were not medals enough in its scale to "go around." England, for example, could not receive out of the limited number of medals for oil paintings assigned to her as many as the merits of her works demanded. Instead of increasing the number of awards, which the Group not only had the right to do, but which under their instructions they were bound to do, they are said to have telegraphed to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, President of the Royal Academy, suggesting that, as the older academicians had already sufficient glory and reputation to give honor to our Exhibition rather than receive honor from it, they could well afford to allow the medals assigned to England to be allotted among the younger and rising artists. This arrangement was adopted, with the result, presumably, that the awards in the English department were given to the second-best paintings. To a certain extent the reopening of the art awards remedied the injustice done, but the total action of this Group has resulted, so far as the fine-arts exhibits are concerned, in a practical defeat of the intentions of the system. This was almost the only instance of failure in its practical working, and this was a failure of apprehension on the part of the judges of Group 27.

There arose more recently, however, a danger which threatened the entire subversion of the plan of awards. This took the form of a scheme on the part of a few individual Commissioners to overturn the system to which all of the exhibitors were subjected, and under which the expensive corps of experts had done their best for a just distribution of medals. At the eleventh hour—after the better members of the Commission had gone finally to their homes, and after the judges had dispersed to the four quarters of the globe—these persons succeeded in reopening the whole question and in securing certain rulings, which, but for the firmness and the honest indignation of Gen. Walker, Chief of the Bureau of Awards, and of Mr. Goshorn, the Director-General, would have defeated the whole scheme. A resolution was even passed to the effect that the awards should be signed *not by the judges*—as the exhibitors had been promised—but by the executive officers of the Exhibition. Happily this action has been rescinded, and the original scheme will be carried out in its integrity. As an illustration of the operations of this rump of the Commission we may take the case of California wine (Group 4). This Group consisted of eighteen experts detailed to examine animal and vegetable products. The judges on wines decided that the Californian product was not wine, or at least not such wine as could be properly recommended for public consumption. Every effort was made and every influence was brought to bear to change their opinion, but in vain. The group more than once voted unanimously that this product was not worthy of an award. Influence with the judges being unavailing, it was brought to bear on members of the Commission, several of whom set seriously to work to overturn the decision. Finally, the Italian member of the Group, an amiable gentleman, being approached on the subject by individual Commissioners, and being made to believe that the request came from the Commission, that kindness should be shown to a rising American industry, signed a certificate giving a qualified commendation to this exhibit. These few Commissioners, acting as a "Committee on Appeals," hereupon gave an "award" to the wine. The next step was to do away with the necessity for signatures of the judges, and the rump passed a resolution that only officers of the Commission should sign any awards. Good faith went to the winds; and the interests of all worthy exhibitors and the honor and credit of all the judges must stand aside for the "influence" which had succeeded in "fixing things."

We cite this as an illustration of the *modus operandi* of the whole fraud. Happily this action has been nullified, and the question of "appeals" has been limited to cases in which a new group of judges, strictly honorable experts and largely members of the original Groups, will give a few awards to meritorious exhibits, which, owing to the wretchedly bad character of the speculation Catalogue, were overlooked at the original examination. Practically, the system is restored in its entirety, and the results of the

new American method of judging will be such as to commend it for future use. The question of the fine-arts award remains a muddle, but this is due, as we have pointed out, to the view which the judges in that Group took of their duties and not to any defect in the system. Such injustice as falls upon exhibitors will be mainly chargeable to the miserable character of the Catalogue, and to the failure of the Executive Department of the Exhibition to secure, immediately upon the entry of exhibits, or upon the assigning of space, a proper filling out of the information papers for the guidance of the judges. Indeed, the labors of these gentlemen were largely increased by the necessity of hunting through the Exhibition to find the exhibits which they were to examine. They were obliged to do a vast amount of routine work which could have been better done, and which should have been done, by the clerical force of the Commission. We mention this not by way of complaint, but rather as an illustration of the difficulties attending the performance of such work by men unaccustomed to such duties. With the same officers to manage another Exhibition these minor details would receive better attention.

MR. FROUDE ON THE USES OF A LANDED GENTRY.

LONDON, Nov. 4, 1876.

THE short and gloomy days of November have long been regarded in this country as appropriate to that form of intellectual excitement produced by listening to lectures. There are, in most of the large towns of England and Scotland, associations or institutions formed on the model of the Royal Institution here. They call themselves Philosophical, or Literary, or Scientific, or Mutual Improvement Associations, or by whatever name they choose to take, and their object is the intellectual culture of the members without any exertion on the part of those who are to be cultivated. The members consist to a large extent of shopkeepers and spinsters. Both classes are yearning for improvement, but the one has not the time to improve itself, and the other does not know how to go about it. They form themselves into an association; they secure the names of some of the leading men in the town for their honorary office-bearers, and they appoint an active secretary to take care of them and cater for their wants; and they start their association with its meetings in November and the winter months. There are always at hand men who have something to say, and who are on the outlook for an audience. Some of these are men of established reputation in the world who are willing to give of their stores of information for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen and women. Others are young men with Parliamentary aspirations who wish to keep or bring themselves before the public. Others, again, are of the regular oratorical sort who take to the platform as ducks take to water, and to whom it is a necessity of nature to make public appearances at periodical intervals. Out of these several classes the secretary has no difficulty in securing lecturers, and the lecturers have no difficulty in securing audiences. And if the lecturers happen to be men of mark, their audiences are not limited to those whom they address. They speak to the whole kingdom.

Edinburgh has long held a high reputation for successful efforts of this kind. The society there is an idle, but it is not a frivolous, society. It is always in search of excitement, but for the most part the excitement sought after is not an unworthy excitement. No town of its size has produced so many eloquent preachers, and the people like the excitement of preaching. The audiences both in the theatre and in the music-hall are remarkable for their critical acumen and their appreciation of what is good. Mr. Macready, in his Life, frequently speaks of the satisfaction he invariably experienced when he appeared before an Edinburgh audience, and Miss Helen Faucit, the tragedian (now Mrs. Theodore Martin), speaks with unfeigned pleasure of her professional visits to Edinburgh; long after she had given up appearing on the metropolitan or on any other provincial stage, she used to give a series of her old Shaksperian characters on the Edinburgh boards.

As the Edinburgh theatre has always held a high place among provincial theatres, so its lecture-room, called the Philosophical Institution, has always drawn to itself each year the ablest and most distinguished among those who employ this method of imparting information to their countrymen. It has almost become a fashion among notable men, statesmen, scholars, experimentalists, philosophers, and travellers to address themselves to audiences assembled in the hall of the Philosophical Institution. This year Mr. Froude, the historian, opened the annual course of lectures by an address on "The Uses of a Landed Gentry." Mr. Froude, as you know, has led an active life—for a student and literary man, an unusually active life. Early in his career at Oxford, where he was a distinguished student, he published a couple of strange, clever novels called

"The Nemesis of Faith" and "Shadows from the Cloud." These remarkable books were recognized at once as works of genius, perhaps a somewhat distorted genius. But as years went on they were forgotten, and he next came before the world as the author of a history of England, or rather of a portion of a history of England, which at once made him a reputation second to that of no living historian in this country. There are odd twists and quirks in the work, which are regarded as inseparable from his peculiar genius, and which excite the jealous wrath of his rival historian and unfriendly critic, Mr. Freeman; but these are more than counterbalanced by the fascination and witchery of a style which carries you over paradoxes and into labyrinths of ingenious special pleading in a way that cannot be resisted. Of late years he has appeared once or twice on the borderland of practical politics. Only last year he went out officially as commissioner to the south coast of Africa to settle certain colonial questions which had emerged, and which the present Colonial Secretary imagined could be cured by his panacea for all colonial troubles—federation. Since Mr. Froude's return he has not been much before the public. His appearance, therefore, in Edinburgh was looked for with some interest. The subject is itself an interesting one in this country, and the intellectual classes both in Edinburgh and elsewhere had been looking forward for some time to hear what Mr. Froude had to say upon it. For some years past men's thoughts have been much turned to questions affecting land. As wealth has accumulated in this country the desire to own land has increased. Those who held no land of their own before they made their fortunes, have become possessed with a longing to acquire estates now that they are rich, and those who hold small estates long to make them larger. Before the days of railways, and before London became the huge human hive it now is, a shopkeeper or tradesman in London never thought of going outside the town. Now the wealthy shopkeeper has his villa and his acre or two of land within ten or twenty miles of London as a matter of course. And it is not the wealthy only whose attention has been turned towards the acquisition of land. Since Mr. John Stuart Mill broached his doctrines in favor of a peasant proprietary the theme has been a popular one with that class of men who like to have a standing grievance and to have it widely ventilated. Agitators and itinerant orators have found no more congenial topic to dilate upon before miscellaneous audiences than the absorption of land in a few hands, and the wrongs inflicted by landlords upon tenants, and by tenants upon laborers. Questions regarding game, questions regarding trespass, questions regarding taxation of land, questions regarding county government, and questions regarding generally the rights and duties of landowners and the politics of landholding, have been simmering and bubbling up to the surface from time to time. All this created an interest in the subject which Mr. Froude proposed to discuss. People believed that his sympathies and political leanings were with the landlords and the feudal, or at least the historical, idea, but they expected that he would deal fairly and impartially with both sides of the question. Nor were they disappointed.

Mr. Froude did not shirk his work. He took for his text the present and the past condition of the Scilly Isles, which lie off the coast of Cornwall, and described what these islands were before the late proprietor, Mr. Augustus Smith, bought them, and after he regenerated them. They were in all respects as bad as they could be. Their inhabitants were useless, idle loafers, existing on little holdings, and spending their time in smuggling and drinking. The land was not cultivated. There were no schools, no houses suitable for human beings to live in, and no industries. Mr. Smith in one generation changed all that. He spent money freely upon houses, schools, and churches. He banished all the useless characters from his kingdom, and kept only the sober and industrious. He, though a radical, exercised a benevolent despotism over his people—did not allow them to do anything prejudicial to their health, interests, and well-being, and the upshot is that the Scilly Isles are now an earthly paradise, peopled only by the virtuous and the well-to-do, and the value of the islands is more than three times higher than it was before Mr. Smith bought them.

From this instance of what may be done by a benevolent but despotic landlord Mr. Froude appears to judge all others. He is favorable to the growth of large estates in the hands of one or two men. Large estates are always better managed than small estates. When you pass through a country possessed by one potentate you see everything in good order, and your soul is filled with an air of plenty; when you pass through a country cut up into small possessions you see the gates broken down, the cottages squalid, the hedges and fences untrimmed, and an absence of good schools, good churches, and such things as public opinion demands. In France small holdings answer. There are six millions of freeholders in France, and these freeholders turn a desert into a garden. But Frenchmen can live only in France, whereas Englishmen have the whole globe for their

inheritance; but yet the French system does not always answer. The six million freeholders are so many units. They are not bound together by any traditional organization; they have no landed gentry to take the lead in any crisis and no groups of tenants and dependents to rally round such leaders. Hence when the trials of the late war came upon them they went to pieces. So in Spain, since the class of the *Hidalgos* has disappeared the country has been given over to priests, political charlatans, and military adventurers. In England the landed gentry are kept up by means of certain artificial laws and customs—the law of entail, for instance, and the custom of primogeniture; for primogeniture is a custom, inasmuch as ninety-nine men out of a hundred who have anything to leave make their wills before they die, and most of them, from a desire to keep up their family, leave their land to their eldest sons. Fashion, tradition, and love of family, and a desire to have, as it were, a stake in the country, produce this tendency in the English mind, and no amount of legislation will eradicate it. So with the law of entail: abolish it, and what will be the result? Land will pass more readily into the hands of the few who are wealthy. Simplify the transfer of land, and the same result will follow. The lawyers might possibly suffer, but the poorer classes will not be benefited. The tendency of things in this country is to make land a luxury which only the rich can enjoy. Money invested in land brings in no return, or, at best, a small return of only two per cent. A poor man, or, indeed, a man who has not a substantial income independently of his land, cannot afford to keep it. It is inevitable that it should fall into the hands of the wealthy, and the more you legislate in the matter the more you facilitate the absorption of the land by the few.

Such is the drift of Mr. Froude's address. There is much truth in the views which he expresses, and it would be well if some of our half-educated politicians realized the facts and admitted the inferences from them. But what is the remedy for this state of things? Mr. Froude, who has larger and more diversified experience of our colonies than any man of real philosophic intellect among us, has one at hand, and is not backward in prescribing it. I give it to you in his own eloquent words. More fitting language has rarely been used before a British audience to enunciate the advantages of colonization:

"Who, in his senses, even if it were possible, would be the peasant proprietor of half-a-dozen acres in England, when for the sum for which he could sell them he could buy a thousand acres in countries where he would still be under his own flag, among his own kindred, with an unexhausted soil, and a climate anything that he preferred, from the Arctic circle to the tropics? Let those who were impatient of what they called a dependent position at home go to Australia, to Canada, to New Zealand, or to South Africa; there work for themselves and gather wealth, as all but fools and sluggards were able to do; come back, if they would, as rich men at the end of twenty years; then buy estates here for themselves, and when they belonged to the landed gentry in their own persons they would find their eyes opened as to their value to the community. Here, as it seemed to him, lay the true solution of the British land question. There was already a New Scotland, so-called, in South Africa, a land of mountains and valleys, and rocky streams and rolling pastures; there was gold there, and coal, and all the elements of wealth. Let that country, let any part of any of our rich colonies be peopled from the younger sons who complained that there was no room for them at home; let them match the New England across the Atlantic with a New Scotland in South Africa, or anywhere else, only holding tighter on to the old country. Let them spread out there and everywhere, take possession of the boundless inheritance which was waiting for them, and leave the old island to preserve its ancient memories under such conditions as the times would permit."

Correspondence.

THE ASCENT OF MT. RAINIER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your notice of my article in the November *Atlantic Monthly* on the ascent of Takhoma (Mt. Rainier) you state that "the ascent was made within a short time (we think not more than a month) after that here described by Messrs. Emmons and Wilson, of the Fortieth Parallel Survey."

I still think we are the only ones who have ever achieved the summit of Takhoma, for the following reasons:

Soon after our return from the ascent of Takhoma I met Mr. Emmons, and gave him all the information and suggestions I could to facilitate his trip to the mountain. He and Mr. A. D. Wilson, with a well-equipped party from Mr. Clarence King's Survey, "pushed through the forest to Mt. Rainier with very great difficulty," as he reported, and made a survey

of the mountain and its glaciers. A little pamphlet published by Mr. King, "On the Discovery of Actual Glaciers in the Mountains of the Pacific Slope," contains Mr. Emmons's account of his survey. In that he nowhere states that he reached the summit, and in describing the mountain he says: "The eastern peak, which would seem to have formed originally the middle of the mountain mass, is a crater, about a quarter of a mile in diameter, of very perfect circular form," etc. Now there are two craters, side by side, neither of which is nearly a quarter of a mile in diameter. The ascent of this mountain is so perilous a feat that I feel sure no one who accomplished it would refrain from announcing the fact with natural pride; and how could a scientific man so strangely misdescribe the summit if he ever set foot upon it? Upon this point let Messrs. Emmons and Wilson speak for themselves, and if you can show where they assert that they ever reached the summit of Takhoma I will admit that my belief, above expressed, may be erroneous. I have heard, however, that Mr. Emmons ascended upon our track until he came to the rope we left hanging on the precipitous side of the mountain, and upon giving it a pull to test its strength it came down in his hand, and he thereupon turned back.

Very truly yours,

HAZARD STEVENS.

85 DEVONSHIRE STREET, BOSTON, Nov. 19, 1876.

[We have asked Mr. Emmons to speak for himself.—ED. NATION.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

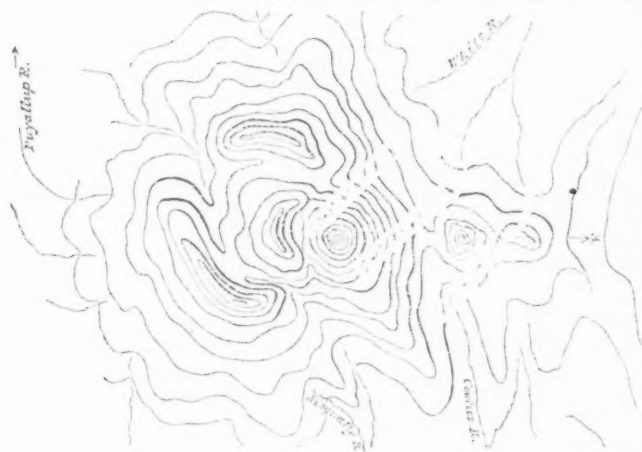
SIR: I am not a little surprised at the above statements of General Stevens, and still hope that it may be shortness of memory, rather than a lack of that gentlemanly feeling that has hitherto characterized him in his intercourse with me, which has led him to charge me indirectly with a false statement. Let me refresh his memory by recalling to him the afternoon and evening of October 30, 1870, which I spent at his home in Portland, Oregon, en route from Mount Rainier to Mount Pitt, during which I gave him a detailed account of the ascent of the former mountain by Mr. Wilson and myself on the 17th of October, exactly a fortnight previous. He will remember that I then told him that we found the rope he had left at the bad passage of the ascent, strong enough in itself to support many tons' weight, but so insecurely fastened that upon shaking the lower end the whole came down upon me, and that, winding it round my waist, I took it to the top of the "chimney" and there tied it through a hole in the rock so securely that it would be found reliable whenever he might wish to make the ascent again, as he then thought he might do. His statement, therefore, that "he heard . . . that we turned back" may be merely an expression of his disappointment that we did not see the engraved plate which he states he left on the summit; but we were too much occupied when there with our instrumental work to attend to such (to us) unimportant details. Moreover, the highest point, as determined by the level on our theodolite, which we took to the summit, is not a boulder, as described by General Stevens, but a knob of ice and snow on the northwestern edge of the crater. I repeat here the explanation I then made to him, that his idea of two independent craters is not geologically accurate, but that the more recent crater which now forms the eastern summit has broken through and partly filled a larger one, part of whose rim still encircles its western flanks, enclosing a semi-circular crater-like depression, which, masked as it is by ice and snow, he mistook for a perfect crater. A difference of opinion as to the diameter of either, which was only estimated by the eye by each of us, is not worthy of discussion.

No popular account of our trip has ever been published. In a paper contributed to the *American Journal of Science* for March, 1871, "On the Discovery of Glaciers," etc., mentioned by General Stevens, the statement is not, indeed, directly made that we "achieved" the summit, but I hardly thought that we, with whom during seven years' work in the Rocky Mountains mountain ascents had been matters of daily occurrence, should be suspected of describing what we had not seen without acknowledging our authority. In his trip General Stevens did not see the northeastern side of the mountain, but he nevertheless describes the White River glaciers, and in words strangely resembling those used by me in the paper above mentioned. To be able to announce the accomplishment of so really dangerous an ascent as that of Mount Rainier might occasion a feeling of "natural pride" in one even less experienced in mountain climbing than General Stevens. Our announcement has been delayed in the hope of some day finishing the survey then undertaken, which was rendered incomplete by the breaking of our barometers and by the advent of the winter snows,

which drove us away, after a month's hard work, and before we had visited the northern and western slopes of the mountain.

Before closing let me, in a friendly way, correct certain technical inaccuracies in General Stevens's article. The mountain is composed of trachyte, and has no basalt at all, although perhaps the dark color of some of this rock might mislead a more scientific observer than General Stevens. In regard to its drainage, there is no water flowing eastward from its slopes, either through the Wenass, or any other stream; its most striking peculiarity is the fact that, even from its eastern slopes, it drains westward through the White and Cowlitz Rivers into Puget Sound and the lower Columbia River.

The subjoined topographical sketch of the upper part of the mountain, taken from my field note-book, though roughly made in camp to illustrate



the structure of the volcano, will show to one familiar with contours the general character of the summit, and the partial crater west of the main one which misled General Stevens.—Very truly yours, S. F. EMMONS.

New York, November 17, 1876.

THE POSITION OF LAYMEN IN SCIENTIFIC CONTROVERSIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Do you realize how discouraging are your criticisms of Mr. Henry's position in your last issue? You say that he, "being neither a biologist, nor microscopist, nor chemist, is not competent to say whether Huxley's essay on the 'Physical Basis of Life' is 'weak and worthless,' and that for a similar reason he does not know whether the work in question was or was not 'cruelly treated' by Sir Lionel Beale," etc. Permit me, then, to ask the following questions in good faith:

I. If a man must be a biologist, microscopist, or chemist before he can judge in any way of the relative merits of conflicting scientific statements, how can a layman looking for truth ever decide upon which side of the fence truth lies? If he inclines to Huxley, he is told he is not competent to weigh the argument; and if he leans to Sir Lionel Beale, he is again met in the same way.

II. Must he then wait until all scientists are fully agreed upon any one point?

III. Must the same rule apply to all "specialistic" studies, such as metaphysics, history in certain of its phases, theology, etc.?

IV. If the unscientific man is incompetent to judge in such matters, why do scientists condescend to become popular lecturers, since then they speak to audiences confessedly incompetent to grasp and weigh their reasonings?

Will you please give your opinion on these points to your readers, many of whom, though neither scientists nor clergymen, see that your last strictures apply to all their efforts to arrive at some rational conclusion. Must we leave as "open questions" all debated points which lie out of our sphere of actual investigation?

A DISCOURAGED READER.

New York, November 16, 1876.

[In speaking, September 14, of the newspaper practice of trying law cases in advance of the courts, we said: "There are opinions to be kept to one's self, opinions to be stated modestly, and opinions to be promulgated as loudly as one can." This is as true of scientific as of legal matters, indeed more true.

I. "A layman looking for truth" cannot, in a dispute between

two eminent scientific men, "decide on which side of the fence truth lies." The fact that two investigators differ about a matter ought to be to him a sign that he cannot settle it. He may have an opinion about it, but it is emphatically an opinion which he ought to keep to himself, and not one to announce in a violent, positive, and denunciatory manner. If positive conclusions could be reached on such subjects by non-scientific men in their libraries, where would be the use of scientific research?

II. Yes, he must, if he does not wish to exhibit himself in an absurd light. Let him console himself with reflecting how long the world waited for the Copernican system, and for the law of gravitation and the science of chemistry.

III. It must apply to all studies which you have not studied. The rule not to talk about things you do not understand is of universal application. But studies are of various degrees of difficulty. A layman arguing with a theologian about theology, with a metaphysician about metaphysics, or with an historian about a point of history when he (the layman) has not thoroughly examined it, and, still more, telling any of them to consider himself "demolished" or "cruelly treated," is acting unreasonably.

IV. We believe, partly to entertain people and partly to instruct them. In so far as they give accounts of the discussions raging in the scientific world, they are entertaining; in so far as they communicate positive and ascertained results of research, they are instructive. Any scientific man who calls on a popular audience to act as a judge between the supporters of two conflicting scientific hypotheses is so far forth playing the charlatan.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

ROBERT CARTER & BROS. have in press a small volume by President McCosh entitled 'The Development Hypothesis: Is it sufficient?'—Scribner, Armstrong & Co. make an illustrated holiday book of Dr. Holland's 'Mistress of the Manse.'—We have more than once noted the rapid reproduction in Germany of the works of American writers of the present day. A late circular of Fr. Willh. Grunow, in Leipzig, shows a series of 'American Humorists' in ten volumes, embracing Mark Twain, T. B. Aldrich, Artemus Ward, and Max Adeler; another of 'American Novelists' in five volumes, including Henry James, jr., and Bret Harte, who is also honored with two volumes apart from either series. Mr. Moritz Busch is the industrious translator of all these diverse works, and ought by this time to be well qualified to define American humor, and to throw light on the question. Why cannot the Americans maintain a *Punch*?—The Signal Service have lately published in book form a series of tri-daily observations for the month of November, 1873, taken at eighty-eight stations. The value of this continuity in so many stations so near together will be obvious to every one interested in such records. A tri-daily map accompanies each day's record. These maps would be more suggestive than the tables if the arrows were larger. Following each map is a statement of the "verification of probabilities" predicted at the given date. If this last exhibit was the main object of the book that object has failed, for the discussion is in every case chaotic, because different sorts of predictions are treated simultaneously.—In the *Athenæum* for November 4, Mr. W. R. S. Ralston announces the early publication of what he believes "will prove the best book ever written about Russia." Happily for us, it is by an Englishman, Mr. D. Mackenzie Wallace, who has spent nearly six years in Russia, making a study of the country. The *Athenæum* also learns that Ivan Turgenev is to publish in the January number of the *Fjestrik Yecropy* a new novel, depicting Russian society of five or six years ago, and more mindful than his previous works of the susceptibilities of the younger generation of Russian doctrinaires. In due time, doubtless, we shall be able to read this in the French or in English.—Dr. Draper's 'Conflict between Science and Religion' has met the eye of the Congregation of the Index in the Madrid edition, and has been placed on the proscribed list "quocumque idioma."

—The "Geneva Pamphlet" on the Cuban question, published in an English translation by the Appletons, proposes a new remedy for the Cuban troubles, with which, could it be carried out, we in this country should certainly have no fault to find. This is a semi-independent colonial government, free from the abuses which have grown out of the present system.

The new constitution proposed by the author of the pamphlet would comprise a general guarantee of civil rights and abolition of military tribunals, as well as decrees of exile, confiscation, enlarges, and other cruel and unusual means of attaining political ends; an executive to be appointed by the Crown, a local colonial assembly, with full power over the taxes, tariff, the press, the administration of justice, and the adoption of measures for the "final abolition" of slavery. That this plan, if carried out, would end in independence as the author in one passage suggests, seems hardly probable; the success of reforms introduced by the mother country would, in proportion as they pacified the Cuban discontents, be likely to stimulate a revival of the old loyalty to Spain, rather than a desire to throw off her protection. The pamphlet is said to have had a semi official origin; but whether any such reforms as those proposed in it are seriously contemplated in Spain we have no means of knowing. Whether, if contemplated, they would be carried out, is also another serious question. The right of the Spanish Government to squeeze money out of Cuba, and the right of the army of constantly "rotated" officials to squeeze fortunes out of the Cubans, are among the most valued privileges of Iberian sovereignty; and the abandonment of them would be little short of revolutionary. With regard to annexation, the writer of the pamphlet seems to be aware that the political difficulties presented are considered insuperable among intelligent Americans. The pamphlet will be found to contain a good deal of information on the subject of recent Cuban history, from the Cuban point of view.

—"Sardanapalus," at Booth's, is, it seems, to be counted as one more success added to the triumphs of the realistic-spectacular drama. It has been running for over a hundred nights, and has been "witnessed by three hundred thousand people." It is a peculiarity of the realistic-spectacular manager that, like the proprietors of quite a different class of entertainments, the claims he prefers to the support of the public are almost always certain to be of a distinctly moral nature; and we are therefore not at all surprised to find our present benefactor assuring us that what he calls his "offering," and what he might, considering the sad fate of the principal characters in the play, have called his burnt-offering, "was submitted with deep respect to that portion of the community who believe the theatre is dignified, and its higher mission fulfilled, by making all its illustrations truthful, beautiful, and instructive." We confess this seems to us to go pretty far. The fallacy upon which the realistic reformers always proceed is that the object of dramatic art is direct imitation. Actors know very well that this is not true even of their part of the business, mimicry being but a poor proof of the possession of dramatic talent—some people would say an indication of its absence. The same thing is true of the accessories—scenery, dresses, etc., etc. It is not, as Lamb long ago pointed out, imitation but suggestion that is wanted. The feeling of reality is given, when given at all, not by the chairs and tables and walls and doors and dresses but by the acting, and the only effect that the pursuit of realistic effects has in the end is to call the attention of the spectator to the fact that after all they are unreal. In "Sardanapalus" there are two or three comical illustrations of this—one, for instance, in which while a magnificent moon is rising in the background the lights behind the scene throw all the shadows towards the luminary instead of away from it. The introduction of an Italian ballet with the Ninevite court as spectators is another slight defect in local color which might have been avoided. As a spectacle we cordially agree that "Sardanapalus" is a great success, but that it has "dignified" anything or fulfilled any "higher mission," we doubt.

—A correspondent sends us the following comment on "Daniel Deronda," which it has doubtless occurred to many readers of that novel to make:

"Why is it that George Eliot has not a word to say upon the change in the relations of her hero to Christianity consequent upon his discovering himself to be a Jew? Is her silence explained by the fact that Deronda, being identified with no form of belief, and having made no professions of a religious kind, passes from a mild scepticism or tolerance before the Church to an equally easy attitude in the synagogue? It seems impossible to suppose so earnest, conscientious, and devotional a nature indifferent to the system of religion in which he has grown up. He must inevitably regard Christ as one of the greatest figures in history, if not the greatest helper of man; and, in any event, a spiritual conflict seems unavoidable, unless, indeed, like the wise Nathan, Deronda stands upon some elevated moral plane from which all forms of faith are seen blending beautifully together. But how are we to take so much for granted with regard to one so subtly analyzed for us in every other particular? We should at least have followed with interest an attempt to seek out and set in order Deronda's situation in its distinctively Jewish and Christian aspects."

—The *New Quarterly Magazine* is in some respects an experiment in magazine literature. As its name denotes, it is not monthly; it contains

no serial tales, but each number has two complete stories, varying in length and strength from a flimsy sketch to an extended novel covering over a hundred of the two hundred and eighty pages of the magazine. Upon these two works of fiction it has apparently relied for success rather than upon the half a dozen other articles, which have rarely risen in point of merit above the average of their class. Six months ago the *Magazine* began a venture hardly likely to increase the amenities of criticism: it added a new department—"Current Literature and Current Criticism." In this the leading books of the quarter are carefully considered by the editor, who subjoins to his own review of each book extracts from the often conflicting criticisms of the leading literary journals—that is to say, the editor, C. J., tries the work and delivers a written opinion, and the concurring or dissenting opinions of the other judges are appended. The object of all this is obviously to show the drift of current criticism, and as obviously its value depends on the skill and the honesty of the editor—whom we understand to be Mr. John Latouche, author of "Travels in Portugal." In the October number the department appears for the third time; it fills more than a quarter of the magazine, and seems to be carefully and conscientiously done; but the commingling of original criticism, extracts from the work criticised, and quotations from half a dozen reviews, gives it a rather "scrappy" look. It is likely to be of use chiefly to those who are willing to "cram" in this way for the sake of appearing thoroughly familiar with the criticism of the hour. Whether this class is large enough in England—a country where dining-out is a regular profession—to lend valuable support to the *Magazine* or not, we of course have no means of knowing, but in this country the venture would be precarious.

—In the year 1871 a commission was appointed to examine into the boundaries and legal relations of Epping Forest in Essex, with a view to its disafforesting; it being quite near London, the existence of forest rights is an anachronism, and no doubt is found an obstacle. This commission has recently made a preliminary report, giving the results of its enquiries thus far, but asking for an extension of time to prepare a complete report. This preliminary report is a pamphlet of seventy-one folio pages, besides a number of elaborate maps. Forest law and forest rights still form a difficult portion of the history of legal rights, and this report, especially as illustrated by the maps, will be found of great service in the study of them. The right of common within the forest, as disputed between the lords of manors and the commoners, forms the most important subject of controversy, and although its full discussion is reserved for the final report, we have here an instructive summary of the arguments on both sides. The maps are peculiarly interesting, as showing the territorial relations of parishes and manors, and give—at least to an American—a more distinct notion of their divisions than it is generally easy to get. We will observe that most of the pages are made up of a list of the different parcels of enclosed waste, with their owners or lessees.

—The readers of the fourth volume of Max Müller's "Chips" will remember that he gives, in an appendix to the article "On the Migration of Fables," an interesting account of the manner in which the Syriac version of the Panchatantra was lately discovered. This version has recently been published under the title: "Kalilag und Damnag. Alte syrische Uebersetzung des Indischen Fürstenspiegels" (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1876.) It will be remembered that the Indian original of this famous collection of fables has been irrevocably lost, its place having been usurped by a later Sanskrit version, the Panchatantra. Before the former had been forgotten it had been translated into Pehlevi (531-579 A.D.), which translation the Arabic version of Almokaffa (d. 760) made familiar to Western Asia and Europe. There was known to be in existence a very old Syriac translation which was supposed to be made directly from the Indian original, and Müller thought that the work before us would, on examination, confirm this supposition. It does not, however, but turns out to be merely a translation from the same Pehlevi version used by Almokaffa for his work, which it exceeds in accuracy and critical worth. Benfey, in his introduction to the present translation, warmly says of it that "it is the oldest specimen preserved to our days of a work which, as translated into various languages, has been more widely disseminated and has had a greater influence on the development of civilization than any other work except the Bible."

—From Albert Lévy, 77 University Place, we have received the first number of what promises to be a curious book—M. Charles Garnier's monograph of his own work, the new Grand-Opera House at Paris. This gentleman had previously published a treatise of considerable interest upon the disposition, arrangement, and machinery of modern theatrical buildings. The present work may be expected to renew the consideration of these mat-

ters, apropos of the most costly and magnificent theatre, and, by general consent, the best-planned and most perfectly appointed one that exists. The first number of the text may be only prefatory; the rest of the two large octavo volumes of letter-press may be very different; but what we have before us is a curiosity of literature. The author avows his intention to criticise his own building freely, to blame it and to praise it as if it were not his own. Without any apparent reason for the order adopted, he devotes the first chapter to the façade, which he defends warmly and admires heartily, and finds fault with in a few details; the second chapter to the gilding of the interior, which he shows to be less in quantity and cost than had been alleged; the third to the *Foyer de la Danse*, and so on. Those persons who think the building pretentious and unsuccessful as an architectural monument, however admirably contrived for a lyric theatre, will think that the author has too lofty an idea of his own work and its importance to the world. But that is natural, and no one will go to this book for colorless criticism. If all the descriptions of the plates are to be filled with such frank comments of the artist upon his productions, it may be that this very odd style of discussion will call attention to the lessons to be learned as no other manner of writing would. But it is to be hoped that this will confine itself in a measure to practical details. Argumentation over the architectural character of the building cannot aid the student much. It is *le théâtre* and not *le monument* which will interest him. We do not speak of the paintings and statuary of independent character; with these this book can hardly deal, because its illustrations do not include representations of them. Moreover, in criticising work so independent of architectural limitations as the paintings of Baudry or the sculpture of Carpeaux, M. Garnier would be merely a critic like another, and no longer the special expounder of his own composition. Four albums of photographs are announced as for separate sale, and these are naturally devoted to decorative details of all kinds, such as the architectural engraver can hardly cope with. The plates of the work proper are to be one hundred in number, of large size, and it appears that the general plans and sections will occupy double plates, so that these, the most important parts of the work, will be on a scale sufficiently large to be intelligible.

—The British Arctic Expedition, which left England in May, 1875, under the command of Captains Nares and Stephenson, has returned after an unsuccessful attempt to reach the Pole. The expedition encountered ice off Cape Sabine on July 30, and from this point to the north end of Robeson Channel they were constantly struggling with the ice, which was so closely packed that the channel by which the ships advanced very soon closed behind them. The *Discovery* wintered in a well-sheltered harbor on the north shore of Lady Franklin Bay, in latitude 81 deg. 44 min. N. The *Alert*, pushing onward, rounded the northeast point of Grant Land, but instead of finding a continuous coast-line extending 100 miles northward, as had been expected, Captain Nares found that he was on the border of an extensive sea, with impenetrable ice on every side. No harbor being obtainable, the ship was secured for the winter as far north as possible, in latitude 83 deg. 27 min. N., inside a sheltering barrier of grounded ice. In lieu of finding an "open Polar Sea teeming with life," the ice was of unusual age and thickness, resembling, both in appearance and formation, low floating icebergs rather than ordinary salt-water ice. It has now been termed the "Sea of Ancient Ice"—the Palæocrystic or Palæcrucic Sea—and a stranded mass of ice broken away from a floe has been termed a floeberg. Further advance being impossible, all the energies of officers and men were directed to sledge work. Sledge parties were sent out to the north, east, and west. A party, headed by Commander Markham and Lieutenant Parr, made a gallant attempt to push northward. They were absent from the ship 72 days, and on the 12th of May planted the British flag in latitude 83 deg. 20 min. 23 sec. N., within 400 miles of the Pole. From this position there was no appearance of land to the northward, but the depth of the water was found to be only 70 fathoms. The result of their labor is thought to prove the impracticability of travelling over the Polar Sea to any great distance from land, and also that Baron von Wrangell was correct in his opinion, that before the North Pole can be reached it is necessary to discover a continuous coast-line leading towards it. The coast-line to the westward of the *Alert* was traced to a distance of 220 miles by a party under the command of Lieutenant Aldrich. The extreme point reached was in latitude 82 deg. 10 min. N., longitude 86 deg. 30 min. W., the coast-line being continuous from the *Alert's* winter quarters. The most northern land, Cape Columbia, is in latitude 83 deg. 7 min. N., longitude 70 deg. 30 min. W. The coast of Greenland was explored by parties from the *Discovery* under Lieutenants Beaumont and Rawson to a position in latitude 82 deg. 18 min. N., longitude 59 deg. 40 min. W., 70 miles northeast of Repulse Harbor. The land extended fur-

ther (latitude 82° 54' N., longitude 48° 33' W.), but very misty weather prevented accurate observations. Lady Franklin Bay was explored and found to terminate at a distance of 65 miles from its mouth, with lofty mountains and glacier-filled valleys to the westward. Petermann Fjord was found to be blocked up with a low glacier. Smith Sound has now been explored from north to south, with the exception of Hayes Sound. President's Land has been found to have no existence, though Lieutenant Aldrich from a mountain 2,000 feet high sighted land towards the northwest extending to latitude 83 deg. 7 min. N. Although the two ships were but 70 miles apart, no communication was established till last March. Owing to the high latitude the winter was unusually long and dark, the sun having been absent 142 days, and the cold was more intense than that experienced by any previous expedition. Captain Stephenson hoisted an American ensign at Polaris Bay, and placed a brass tablet on Hall's grave.

—The scientific information derived from this expedition is most valuable. Ancient Eskimo remains were traced as far as lat. 81 deg. 52 min. N., from which point they had probably crossed into Greenland. Six musk oxen were shot at the *Alert's* winter quarters, and fifty-four were shot near Discovery Bay. Ermine and owls were seen opposite the *Discovery* on the Greenland coast. The *Alert's* game list shows that seven hares and ninety birds of different kinds were shot. The birds certainly do not migrate beyond lat. 82 deg. 50 min. N. Very few seals were seen north of Cape Union, and no bears, doves, or loons ever reach the Polar Sea. Amongst the flora were the saxifrage, sorrel, and dwarf oak, and late in summer a few poppies were found. A seam of coal of good quality was found near the *Discovery's* quarters. Very large collections of natural history subjects were made. The observations on the physics and meteorology of the Arctic regions will prove of great value when published. The cairns of the *Polaris* were visited, and a box chronometer by Negus, New York, was found to be in perfect order after an exposure of four winters, and has since been keeping excellent time on board the *Discovery*. But four deaths occurred during the absence of the expedition. The Austro-Hungarian expedition of 1874 reached a point in lat. 83 deg. N.

—A considerable number of Tennyson's poems have recently been translated into Italian by Carlo Faccioli under the title: 'Enoch Arden, Idilli, Liriche, Miti e Leggende di Alfredo Tennyson' (Verona, 1876). The translation does not seem to be very successful, and is sharply attacked by an English writer in the September number of the *Rivista Europea*, who accuses Faccioli of an imperfect acquaintance with English, and a tendency to amplification and rhetoric, at times very amusing. For instance, the lines in the 'Brook':

"Poor lad, he died at Florence, quite worn out,
Travelling to Naples."

are rendered:

"Infelice garzon pallido, emunto,
E dal malor lento inclinato al suo olo,
Nella città dell'Alghier moria,
Mentre accendesi con febbrile ardore
Al viaggio di Napoli."

In a passage from 'Enoch Arden' the hero is made to quote a line from Dante, which, in the place where it is introduced, is the height of absurdity. The lines in the original are:

"... but when he turned
The current of his talk to graver things,
In sailor fashion roughly sermonizing
On providence and trust in Heaven";

in Italian:

"Enoch la prorompente onda sospinse
Del suo discorso a ben più gravi cose,
E alla foggia degli aspri marinari
Sermoneggiò della Bontà infinita,
Che prende ciò che si ricoglie a Lei."

The translator has also taken the most unwarrantable liberties with the form of the original, and has actually translated the 'Lady of Shalott' into Italian blank-verse!

—In the *Nation* of April 22, 1875 (No. 512), we gave an account from the German periodical *Im Neuen Reich*, of the pretended appearances of the Virgin in Alsace-Lorraine. In a recent number (41) of the above-mentioned periodical, A. Schricker supplements his former account by an incident which took place about the same time as the other events therein described, and which illustrates very well one phase of the excitement—that in which deliberate fraud took the place of honest self-delusion. A girl thirteen years old, named Johanna H., professed to have seen the Virgin for which she was sharply reproved by her pastor, one of the few priests in the district who attempted to overcome the delusion. It became necessary to convince him that there was some truth in it; Johanna therefore declared that while she was at early Mass the Virgin appeared to her and handed her a book, which she was to give to the pastor. The book con-

trained some pictures of the Virgin, and three letters from a certain Nicholas Hillinger, who had died a few years before in America. He asked to have Mass said for the repose of his soul, and directed his child to be baptized at Marienthal. He also confirmed the truth of Johanna's assertions that she had frequently seen the Virgin, which confirmation was still further strengthened by the Virgin's autograph at the end of two of the letters: "Ich bin die Mutter der Barmherzigkeit; Ich bin die Mutter der Gnade." The pastor made Johanna copy a few lines from the book, and, as the writing was exactly the same, he accused her of writing it herself. She at first denied it, but afterwards, when the matter was judicially investigated, confessed that she had invented the whole thing and carried it out with her parents' aid. Her object, she said, was to bring her family into consideration.

THE MIKADO'S EMPIRE.*

MR. GRIFFIS has given us a panoramic view of Japanese history, bringing into prominence many of the most important periods. He accompanies this with a running commentary, which is enlivened by the fact that it is the language of one who, living among the people, has attempted to unravel the causes of recent events in the light of the past. A great part of the first or historical portion of the book has the charm of historical romance. No doubt many threads of romantic fiction are woven into the rich fabric of the medieval as well as of the earliest chronicles of the Japanese; but in the most important portion, the past ten or twelve centuries, these threads affect only the coloring, while for the mythological period many of the fictions have come to be corner-stones of the social, religious, and political structure, and, as such, are real factors, for the mythology is the early history of the ruling family. Japan must be a rich mine for the student of history as a general science, for the important reason that it has attained a high plane after passing through more than twenty centuries of indigenous development from a low plane. The introduction of Buddhism, Chinese philosophy, and some Chinese and Korean industries form almost the only foreign elements in the problem. Here is a land which has been practically wholly insulated; a dynastic government, not merely originating in divine right, but being itself divine. This heavenly prerogative, vested for twenty-five centuries in one family, beginning its rule over a people in whom the elements for class distinction existed, and with a hostile race to overcome, has resulted in a social, political, and religious system possessing the most marked individuality, which is its logical outgrowth. The great range in latitude, and consequent variety of climate, and the topographical subdivision into mountain girdled provinces, caused a differentiation in the natural and industrial products and in the traits of the people. These same causes aided the growth of the clan system, which, under the stimulus of frequent wars against the aborigines and of civil feuds, resulted in a feudalism such as the world has not seen before. Feudalism is necessarily based on loyalty to the liege, but never was the idea of loyalty carried to such extremes as among the Samurai of Dai Nippon, who made it the one paramount virtue. The really grand native drama, 'Chiushingura,' of which a good translation was lately issued by a New York house, gives an unexaggerated picture of the Japanese ideal in this respect.

Surely, in this self-developed growth we have a history almost free from the influence of extraneous forces, and one in which the problem is reduced to its simplest form. But it is rendered even more important for the student of the laws of history by the fact that this type of the past was brought suddenly face to face with the civilization of the nineteenth century, and underwent an almost bloodless revolution. If history is a science, it is as dependent upon the most careful study of all that relates to society, in its earlier and in its lower forms, in its relation to time and to nature, as anatomy is on paleontology, or philology on the dead languages. And it does not seem too much to say that in future those who aspire to a knowledge of the laws which have moulded nations, the forces whose resultant constitute the history of mankind, must, like the naturalist, pass less of their time in the library, and much of it in studying the fast-fading societies amidst the surroundings in which they have been nurtured. The historian should not leave this to the etnologist. Among these forms of society none can be more important than those which in Eastern Asia have gone through long periods of independent development, culminating in dissimilar complex forms, and now representing different stages of progress or of decay. The importance of this is felt by Mr. Griffis, in so far as the special history of Japan is concerned, and the reader can be as thankful as

he expresses himself to be that he has "felt the pulse and the heart of New Japan," after seeing the last days of the old order of things.

In a chapter on the recent revolutions in Japan the author explains that most remarkable political proceeding—the sudden and almost bloodless abolition of feudalism. In the previous chapters he traces the government through the great phases of its growth. The first of these was that in which the Mikado was the immediate ruler and warrior-chief; then followed a period during which the functions of government came to be divided as hereditary prerogatives between a few great families of the imperial blood, one assuming the civil offices, another the military. This division became traditional, and after the fierce wars between the rival families of Taira and Minamoto, resulting in the extinction of the former, the office of Sei-i-tai Shogun, or generalissimo, became hereditary in the Minamoto. Lastly, this separation of the camp and the court was the starting point of a process of differentiation in the development of the government which resulted, on the one hand, in the seclusion of the Mikado as a sacred being, controlled by ministers in the interest of the Shogun, and, on the other hand, in the remarkable system of feudalism and the Shogunate, which lasted till 1871 and 1868 respectively.

Mr. Griffis shows that the revolution which changed all this was sudden only in its appearance to us; that it was the necessary result of internal forces which had been at work within the empire in part during the present century and in part since the beginning of the last century. These aimed at the reduction of the Shogun to his proper position as a vassal, and the restoration of the Mikado to real supremacy; the abolition of feudalism and Buddhism, and the return to the ancient imperial régime, with a restored pure *Shinto* as the national faith and the engine of government. Our author thinks that these causes would undoubtedly have resulted in the attainment of the more important ends aimed at even without the complication produced by the recent arrival of foreigners. The influence of the West upon the crisis was of three kinds: first, through the use of the technical literature the disaffected daimios like Satsuma were enabled to provide themselves with Western instruments and methods of war, etc.; secondly, the unwelcome arrival of foreigners and the signing of the treaties by the Shogun merely precipitated the revolution, one of the aims of which had come to be the expulsion of the hated foreigner; thirdly, the revolution brought to the front and was guided by the best thinkers of Japan, many of whom had been educated in Europe and America, and nearly all of whom saw the necessity of bringing their country into accord with the civilization of the West. While these men flooded the country with original treatises and translations on questions of political economy, religion, etc., those of them who had become ministers brought the Mikado into accord with their ideas, and the sovereign, abandoning for ever his seclusion of centuries, came forward and promised a government based on a deliberative assembly and upon public opinion. The next step was the abolition of feudalism. Four great daimios—Satsuma, Choshin, Tosa, and Iizen—offered to restore their fiefs to the Mikado; the lesser daimios were powerless to resist such a movement, for, besides these greater princes, the ministers were determined to use the whole power of the state to destroy a system which prevented all real progress. An edict called the daimios to Tokio to retire to private life, and feudalism was a thing of the past.

From a chapter entitled "New Japan" we learn much of the condition of the country since the revolution. The scenes it presents to us are indeed startling contrasts to the past: railways and telegraphs; the Mikado in European costume receiving an address (and replying to it) from native merchants who stand in his presence; the Government arresting a Peruvian ship loaded with Chinese coolies, and returning to their native country the victims of this worst form of slave-trade; the elevation to citizenship of the *Eta*, or social outcasts; the establishment of legations and consulships abroad; a thoroughly-organized postal system; a successfully executed expedition to destroy piracy on the distant coast of Formosa—does any one say that these are all acts proceeding from the Government rather than from the people, and that, as such, they are not a proper measure of real progress? Mr. Griffis, in answer, tells us of the press, which has "passed from the realm of experiment into that of an estate." At the time of his writing, "ten daily papers in the capital and two hundred periodicals in the Empire were flooding the country with information and awakening thought." The mail carried 2,629,643 newspapers in 1874, against 514,610 in 1873. All this in a country which was opened to foreigners only seventeen years ago, and in which the dominating political aim only eight years ago was the expulsion of foreigners and a return to the ancient order of things.

We can hardly consider the revolution a thing wholly accomplished, for the old order of things has left as a legacy a Pandora's box of evils and of knotty problems, which are likely to test severely both the stability of the

*The Mikado's Empire. By W. E. Griffis. New York: Harper & Bros. 1875.

new government and the statesmanship of its ministers. A recent copy of the Japan *Mail* gives the edict capitalizing the incomes of the nobles and gentry, a stroke by which the Government rids itself of the burden of pensions to the nobility by giving them, in bonds, amounts equal to from five to seven years' income—in the smaller pensions, to fourteen years. This movement, in itself wise, is pregnant with future trouble, for it will leave an immense number of hereditary retainers with means too limited for their subsistence. They are of a generation born and nurtured under the feudal system, and that too during stirring times; and, sharing in the inherited prejudice against labor, they are not likely to make a quiet element of population. But the Government has less to fear in this direction than from the ultra-progressive men, that restless class of the present, the world over, whose incessant attacks on existing institutions are the more effective because, moving with the stream of real progress, they add its momentum to their own. Large numbers of Japanese youths have for years been scattered through the schools and universities of Europe and America; they have been notably among the ablest of the students, and have shown a zeal in study that has brought many of them to the grave. Many have returned to Japan enthusiastic admirers of one or another theory of Western government, religion, and society, to say nothing of those who have imbibed an admiration for Utopian ideas. The revolution and the rapidly-growing native periodical press bring all these zealots into mental action. The articles in the native newspapers are, at times, such as to cause one to shiver. One, for instance, advocates assassination of corrupt officials, placing this method above the right of rebellion as a corrective for bad government. But all this shows that the nation has the sap of youth and a strong vitality. The same causes that produce ultra-progressionists also give to the nation real statesmen. We may confidently expect great things from our nearest, though distant, Western neighbor. How little Western governments have done to aid this struggling people is shown very clearly by the inhuman bombardment of Kagosima, of the despicable part played by our own and other ministers in the Simonoseki affair, and the delay of our Congress over the proposition to return to Japan the money then wrung from her with no more reason than can be given by a bandit. While Mr. Griffis contributes his strong condemnation of these governmental sins, he goes behind them to bring to light their true causes, which are rooted in the selfishness and brutality almost habitually shown by part of an influential class of foreigners towards both the Japanese and Chinese. It seems high time that a change should be made in regard to the ex-territoriality clause. As it now stands there is little chance of a native getting justice as against a foreign brute.

The historical portion of the book contains a short but very interesting chapter on the various sects of Buddhism in Japan. Another, on Christianity and foreigners, treats of the introduction of Christianity from 1542 to 1637. We know what a foothold this religion took among that impressionable people. "The annals of the primitive church furnish no instances of sacrifice or heroic constancy, in the Coliseum or the Roman arena, that were not paralleled on the dry river-beds and execution-grounds of Japan." And yet, as Mr. Griffis and all other writers state, that century of Christianity and foreign intercourse has left almost no other apparent record of itself than the habit of smoking, sponge-cake, and certain new and strange diseases—among them the venereal scourge. It left also a name, the mention of which "would bate the breath, and blanch the cheek, and smite with fear": "that name was Christ." Thus do the gods of one faith become the demons of another.

The second part of the book, somewhat carelessly put together, is composed partly of the author's personal narrative, and largely of chapters on various topics of interest connected with the life, games, and folk-lore of the people. A chapter on the position of woman is full of interest; in it, and in other parts of the book, the author concedes to the maiden and matron of Japan a very important position from early times till now. Aside from his tributes to her moral and social worth, he shows that she has been the preserver of, and an important contributor to, the pure Japanese literature. The whole book bears evidences of being the work of an intelligent and thoughtful observer, who was determined to be impartial; and it is undoubtedly the most important contribution that has appeared with regard to Japan. Since we have done but slight justice to its real value, we shall dwell lightly on the less important defects. Prominent among these is the personal attitude assumed by the author in the preface, and the inexcusable reproduction of woodcuts from Alcock and others when there are such abundant native sources to draw from. It is a slight compensation for this injustice to the buyer of an expensive book that the author has given some new information

concerning these illustrations. But the few faults are thrown into the shade by the real excellence of the book as a whole.

PORTUGAL.*

WE believe that there is one country of Europe that has not yet been overrun by the hordes of Cook's tourists, and that is Portugal. It is too much on one side of the beaten track, and has not the wealth of cheap attractions which invite the incursions of that modern Attila and his tribes. We should think that this circumstance would recommend that beautiful land to the sated appetite of travellers who have exhausted worlds and would be glad to imagine new if they could. We have always had a kind of personal interest in Portugal ever since we first visited Lisbon with Henry Fielding, in 1754—the year before the great earthquake. His 'Voyage to Lisbon' was well named, for he only saw enough of the place to pronounce it "the nastiest city in the world," when he had to break off his delightful book in the middle of a sentence and with a fitting quotation from Horace:

"— hic finis chartaque vitæque."

"Vitæque," he might have added. The whole book, up to the last half-dozen pages, consists of his very commonplace adventures in England before his ship could get to sea and on his voyage. And yet the magic of his genius throws the same charm over it all that it does over Sophia Western's flight to London and Tom Jones's wanderings with the sapient Partridge. Dropsy and asthma could not quench his sweet spirit or his genius, but they soon ended his life, and left him to rest in unconsecrated soil in a foreign land. His journeying and his voyaging give one a lively notion of the discomforts of travel in the middle of the last century. He indeed traces "the humor of travelling" back to our first parents, who "were scarce settled in Paradise before they disliked their own home, and became passengers to another place"—whence he infers that this "humor is as old as the human race, and was their curse from the beginning." Perhaps he might have gone even a step further back, and, as Dr. Johnson said "the Devil was the first Whig," claimed him as the first traveller.

The next time we visited Portugal—in an elbow chair, of course, by the fireside, a mode that can be recommended as securing the traveller from sea-sickness, bad inns, overcharges, dirt, fleas, and fatigue—was more than thirty years later, in company with Beckford—"Vathek, England's wealthiest son." He was a man of genius as well as Fielding, though of a different and infinitely inferior vein from "the prose Homer of human nature." Still, he was a charming companion, and did the honors of Batalha, and Mafra, and Alcobaca in a manner which left nothing to be desired excepting to have more of his company. A little more than twenty years later, our noble friend Lord Byron took us with him in his brief but immortal trip through Portugal. His lordship was not complimentary to the inhabitants or to their capital, but he made amends in his glorious description of the scenery. We suppose we must admit, since great critics have settled it so (which so astonished Colonel Newcome), that "Byron is no poet." The common people, indeed, have shown symptoms of rebellion against this high decree, and it is not unlikely that they will set it aside, if they have not done so already, in their absolute power as the court of ultimate appeal, and give him rank next to Milton as the third person in the trinity of English poets. But, admitting that he is no poet, nobody can deny that he is a matchless writer of guide-books. One could better dispense with Murray when travelling in Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, or Italy than with 'Childe Harold.' Finally, only two or three years ago we had the charming society of Lady Jackson in our last visit to "Fair Lusitania," the particulars of which are well told in her sumptuously printed and illustrated volume of that name. Her ladyship is the widow of the veteran diplomatist, Sir George Jackson, and so sister-in-law to Copenhagen Jackson, of whom Madison made one of the rocks of offence over which he stumbled into the war of 1812 with England.

Portugal is a worthy little kingdom, with a better record than many bigger and more boastful communities. Her past is romantic, and her present most creditable. Three centuries ago or so she was the mistress of the seas, and might be compared, in extent of colonial possessions and naval power, with England now—the size of the world at that time being considered—and much superior to her then. She led the way to India round the Cape of Good Hope, and began the ruin of Venice as a commercial and political power. The Pope in the handsomest manner divided the globe between Spain and Portugal, bestowing the Eastern hemisphere on the first-named nation and the Western on the last. The only defect in

* Notes on Portugal. By E. A. G. Philadelphia: Catholic Publishing Company. 1876.

the title was the sum which would have vitiated the offer by another potentate of all the kingdoms of the world, on another occasion, had it been accepted—to wit, that they did not belong to him, and so were not his to give. Perhaps it was owing to this defect that the colonial glory of Portugal did not last very long, most of her possessions beyond sea slipping away from her, excepting Brazil, which she kept till about fifty years ago, and to which she is still bound by ties of a common descent and a common reigning race of the excellent Braganza blood. The catastrophe of the defeat and rout suffered on the African plain of Alcazar, in 1578, by Don Sebastian had much of the romantic element in it, from the desperate nature of the crusade which it ended and through the mysterious disappearance of the king. Pretenders were not wanting to supply his place, and he still lives in the legends of the peasantry, who, it is said, expect that he will yet appear and restore the greatness of his realm. The absorption of Portugal in, or rather its mechanical application to, Spain by Philip II., and the revolution of 1640, which severed it, and raised the Dukes of Braganza to the throne; the rise and administration of Pombal, and the story of its fortunes down to the final recognition of Maria da Gloria, reads more like a romance than the histories of bigger countries often do. The little kingdom, however, has not been much behind her bigger neighbors in her capacity for running in debt and intrepidity in defying her creditors; though, in justice, it should be said that her record in this particular is much better than that of Spain, and the prospect of her return to financial virtue much more promising than any her blustering neighbor can hold out.

The language of Portugal, being the speech of so small a European population, has been passed by on the other side too much, as of little general interest and of no great value to the student of literature. It has, however, a musical, flexible, and abundant vocabulary, more largely derived from the Latin than most of the Southern tongues. In fact, it deserves Byron's epithet of "that soft bastard Latin" more than the Italian, and Camoens was not far out in saying three hundred years ago that, barring some corruptions, it might pass for Latin:

"Com pouca corrupção crê que he a Latina."

Though this is a little too strong, any one knowing Latin would find little difficulty in mastering Portuguese, and would be well repaid by making the acquaintance of Camoens. To the outside world, even of average literature, Portugal is a land of one poet. The "Lusiad" is the only poem of cosmopolitan fame, though there are not wanting Portuguese poets of local reputation. It is a work of great and various merit, and not unworthy of a place beside the other modern heroic poems. It was almost strictly contemporaneous with Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," and is to our taste much more entertaining reading. If the "Jerusalem" may be compared—*sed longo intervallo*—to the "Iliad," the "Lusiad" may be likened to the "Odyssey" for the liveliness of the descriptions, the spirit of the narrative, and the variety of the adventures. Its machinery, in which the gods of Olympus work side by side with the Christian hierarchy and in a truly Catholic spirit, it must be allowed, slightly savors of the comic. Venus is the patroness of Vasco da Gama, as she was of Æneas, while Bacchus resents and resists his intrusion upon his own ancient conquest of India. Mercury runs errands as of old, and Jupiter sits umpire in the quarrels of his children, and they all work together for the spread of Christianity and the glory of the Catholic Church. But for all this it is a fine poem and easy reading, which all fine poems are not, and if Portugal be indeed a country of one great work, it is great enough to make a moderate literature in itself.

As to the little volume which has served as a text to this discourse, it is modest in its pretensions and does not fall short of what it pretends to do. It contains a slight sketch of the history of Portugal, and a brief account of its present condition politically, industrially, financially, and socially. Portugal has an excellent constitutional government. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by all men having an income of about one hundred dollars, and the deputy must have an income of about five hundred. The Chamber of Peers is an hereditary body in part, but with the incident of peerages for life; but no one can take his seat by inheritance who has not an income of about \$2,500 and an academical degree. Excellent conditions all. All forms of religious faith are protected, though of course Catholicism is the state religion. This little manual will afford any one desirous of knowing something of Portugal the means of doing so, and will perhaps excite a wish to know something more. The errors of the press are something amazing. We have seen nothing like it since the epic poem, in twenty-four books, called the "Fredoniad," by Dr. Emmons, now unhappily out of print, which had two or three closely-printed pages of *errata*, the only one of which that we remember was: "Book xiv., line 852, for *blood* read

milk." We marvel that any printer could consent to allow such a specimen of his work as this to go out to the public.

Children's Holiday Books.—'Amongst Machines' (G. P. Putnam's Sons) is a rather advanced second course to the same author's 'Young Mechanic.' It presupposes readers of an age capable of translating Latin verse, and with such an experience of machinery as to warrant the introduction of the complex steam-hammer in the second chapter. There is no orderly progress from the simplest forms, and the illustrations are too few to make every step assured. In short, the work only makes felt the need of a better. Nevertheless, since it has something to say about iron smelting, wire-drawing, pen and pin and hair-pin making, wood-working and paper-making and printing machines, glass-making and other processes, it can hardly fail altogether to arouse interest or to impart profitable instruction.

Mr. Bayard Taylor, in his 'Boys of Other Countries' (Putnam's), contrives to tell a good deal about Sweden, Iceland, and Egypt, and something about Russia and Germany, in five tales having boy heroes. "The Young Serf" and "Jon of Iceland" are imaginative types, but Jon at least seems a quite real character, and any child who reads about him will find him a very honest and inspiring acquaintance. The other boys are heroes each of a single incident in Mr. Taylor's experience as a traveller in many lands, and, with nothing of the novelette about them, serve a useful purpose as actual examples of courage and address and cheerful industry. The book is in every way wholesome and attractive.

We cannot praise very highly Mrs. Monroe's 'Story of Our Country' (Lockwood, Brooks & Co.), which is narrated with the help or hindrance of two children, aged twelve and ten years respectively. This makes moralizing easy, and shows the youthful reader exactly how he ought to feel at every stage of the discourse, since "Will" or "Lizzie" is always ready with the proper reflections. Mrs. Monroe begins with Columbus, and takes so very genial a view of him that the effort now making to get him canonized seems tardy enough. No villain, indeed, is allowed upon the scene from beginning to end (the end is Washington's first Presidency) until we come to Benedict Arnold, who has one of the twenty-eight chapters all to himself. Mrs. Monroe is not abreast of the historical discussions of the past few years, and retains alike the myth of Pocahontas's rescue of Smith and the little hatchet of the Father of his Country. Oglethorpe is of such small importance in her eyes that the colonization of Georgia is dismissed with the remark that "there is nothing very interesting to tell about it." The illustrations are of the worthless kind, and altogether we can see no reason for this work's supplanting Mr. Higginson's even with youngsters of ten and twelve.

Very handsome, with its broad page, and large type, and plentiful illustrations, is 'Janet et ses Amis' (D. Appleton & Co.), a medley of nursery talk, rhymes, and fables for the little beginner in French reading. The story of the Three Bears and that of Little Red Riding-hood are here related among others, the latter with the merciful ending (denied our English version), by which the little girl and her grandmother are rescued alive from the wolf's belly. The drawings are the work of amateurs, but show skill, a refined taste, and a fair amount of originality, and any child will take delight in them.

Friedrich Froebel. A biographical sketch, by Matilda H. Kriege. With a portrait. (New York: E. Steiger.)—Froebel, as everybody knows, was the originator of Kindergartens. The most striking feature of his life was that he and his friends became possessed with so much enthusiasm for developing their experiments that they allowed themselves to lapse pecuniarily into a sort of communism, at least to the extent of living together or interchangeably, or of leaving their affairs and schools to one another's care for indefinite periods, without any mutual accounts being recorded; and this, too, for such a length of time as proves that their remarkable confidence was justified by faithfulness to the trust. This faithfulness is certainly a strong argument for the genuine value of the reform for which they labored, and toward which they have contributed data which future educators will adjust to existing conditions.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
New Encyclopedia of Chemistry, Parts X.—XV., swd.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) \$0 50
Observations on the Civilization of the Western Barbarians.....	(Lee & Shepard) 1 75
Philopotts (J. S.), Homer's Iliad, Book VI.....	(Livingtons) 1 50
and (Alme.), Impressions and Reminiscences.....	(W. F. Gill & Co.) 1 50
Savage (M. J.), The Religion of Evolution.....	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1 00
Light on the Cloud.....	1 25
Selections from the Imitation of Christ.....	(Roberts Bros.) 50
Selections from the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.....	50
Stevenson (Dr. R.), The Southern Side of Andersonville Prison.....	(Turnbull Bros.) 1 00
Stobbs (Rev. W.), The Early Plantagenets.....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 00
Weiss (Rev. J.), Wit, Humor, and Shakspeare.....	(Roberts Bros.) 2 00
Westlake (Prof. J. W.), Common School Literature.....	(Sower, Potts & Co.) 60

